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Some Customs of the Luwo (or Nilotic Kavirondo) living in South Kavirondo.

By the Rev. H. HARTMANN.

Contents:

Birth. — Betrothal and Marriage. — Burial of a married Man. — Burial of a Woman. — Burial of a Child.

Birth.

596 The Luwo people live together with their families in kraals. These families consist of the owner of the village with his wives, and his sons with their respective wives and children, and the owner's unmaried daughters.

595 Each wife has her own hut. The husband spends most of his time in the hut of his favourite wife. He may, however, have besides a hut for each of his wives, a small hut for himself, but he will never sleep in it. For this purpose he goes to the huts of each of his wives in turn, or generally he sleeps in that of his favourite wife, and visits the others, whenever he is informed by the women [833] that one of them has menstruated, then after 2 days he goes to her hut for a couple of nights.

842 If a woman has conceived and happens to be one who has not brought forth yet, then 3 or 4 months after conception she gets little incisions *(kedo)* made [304] all round the waist. For this operation the patient has to sit down on a stone (nothing else). The operation is performed by an older woman. She uses a crooked thorn which is hooked under the skin, and where the point of the thorn lifts the skin a very tiny cut is made with a native razor. Between every cut there is a space of about $^1/_4$ of an inch. Three rows of incisions are made this way all round the waist just below the navel, the rows being also about $^1/_4$ of an inch apart. No medicine is applied.

When the skin is healed again the woman goes home for 3 days to show herself *(tero kedo)* and a goat is killed for her by her father. She returns with roasted *wimbi* flour for brewing beer and a sheep. When the beer is ready the sheep and some chickens are killed and they have a feast *(kong kelo kedo)*.

After the feast the young woman gets from an older one some medicine, the ashes of burnt herbs, of which she has to taste a little morning and night for one month *(nońgo misalo)*.

When this month is over she gets another medicine, prepared out of cooked roots of plants *(yadh agulu)* which she takes morning and night until one month before giving birth.

[837] In case a woman who is with child has committed adultery she takes a certain medicine, called *manyasi*, otherwise she will have a miscarriage or the child will be a weakling.

844 When the hour of childbirth has come the woman sits down on the floor of the hut naked. Even the usual string of beads is taken from her waist. A

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844 couple of women who have come to assist her, support her shoulders. If the woman is afraid or weak, somebody generally a strong woman is called to *thuñgo* her, i. e. she puts her mouth close on the mouth of the patient, and blows her breath down the patient's lungs in order to increase the pressure.

No sooner the child is born or one of the assisting women run out of the hut to pull out of the roof a piece of kaffircorn stalk, which is split leaving a sharp edge. This is used to cut the babe's navel after it has been tied off.

[201] If the babe is a boy the Kaffircorn stalk is pulled out of the roof at the side of the fire place of the hut *(Kor amach* = lefthand side facing the hut). If it is a girl, the stalk is pulled out *Kor attung* = the right hand side. Compare: Burial of children (p. 274).

When the afterbirth has come out the mother takes the child on her lap, whilst somebody runs for a drop of fresh sheepmilk — otherwise never consumed — which the child has to drink. Not until the child has swallowed a drop of this will the mother give the child suck.

846 Immediately after the birth of the child the husband orders a goat to be killed for the mother, and the pot is put to boil, for the mother has a ravenous appetite. Now word is sent to her father, who will kill a goat for his wife, who comes to see her daughter, bringing some of the meat and fish along.

For no purpose except nature's call is the mother to leave the hut within 4 days, if the babe is a boy. Then she takes the child outside, and a little patch of hair is shaven above the ears of father, mother and child.

852 After 10 days a bull and a heifer are bled, meat and fish is cooked, *simsim* is pounded and mixed with rendered butter, and the lot of it is to provide a good feed for the inhabitants of the kraal later in the day. On that day the heads of father, mother and child are shaven clean. Then after the woman is smeared [824] with butter and sprinkled with *simsim* seeds, seedballs of a wild plant *(ochok)* are strung on plaited grass *(oganga)* and creeping grass *(modhono)* and [301] hung crosswise over the shoulders and under the armpits of the young mother. In the same way she is ornamented with cowryshells, ordinary beads, beads of smallcircular pieces of ostrich eggs *(rek)* and big iron beads.

[262] When the woman is thus ornamented, a boy, her brother-in-law, is called to hold the child. Now an old woman brings *awinja* (= pounded *simsim* mixed with rendered butter) and cooked *wimbi*. She kneeds a mouthful of the food, making with her thumb a little pit in it *(athwanyo otonge)* which she fills with *awinja*, then she puts it on the end of a wooden ladle, used in stirring the food, 4 times to the mouth of the mother. The 5th time she puts it with the help of the ladle in the mother's mouth, who is not allowed to touch the food with her hand. After she has eaten this one mouthful, another mouthful is given in the same way to her young brother-in-law who holds the child.

Then meat, fish, blood and other food is brought for the inhabitants of the kraal. That night the father and mother of the child sleep again together for the first time after the birth of the child *(iñgado imbo nyathi)*.

If the babe is a girl the woman stays in the hut for 3 days, after which the child is taken outside and a little patch of hair is shaven also above

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the ear of father, mother and child. But 10 days later, on the day of the feast, the father's head is only shaven above the ear again. Those of mother and child, however, are shaven clear *(bwanyo wich)*. The feast is prepared much like for a babe-boy, but there is no *awinja*, and the performance with the ladle does not take place. Neither is the woman ornamented like after the birth of a boy; because the girl later on will not belong to that part of the country; she will be married out and live and die elsewhere.

If the husband has more wives, he is not entitled to conjugal rights with any of them until after the birth of a child the feast has taken place, and he has slept again with the mother of the child. If he would brake this rule, the newborn babe would waste away and die *(omiyo nyathi chira)*.

Adultery is reckoned a serious offence by both husband and wife. If the woman knows that her husband is misbehaving in this way, she will refuse cohabitation, for if she is with a child cohabitations would result in a miscarriage. If a woman commits adultery her husband may send her away, and claim the dowry he has paid for her. However, if she brings forth a child born from adultery he will reckon the child to be his own, as the woman is his, nobody else's for he has properly married her.

A widow is given in marriage to the full brother or the nearest relation of her deceased husband. If she goes to his full brother, or in case he had none, to his nearest relation, and if she begets children by him, then these children will be reckoned to be the children of her new husband. In case her deceased husband has a full brother but she does not like him, or he is still too young to take her as his wife, some other near relative will take the widow. But the children born by them will be called the children of the deceased husband. The present husband is only a borrowed one. Hence, when the girls born to them grow up and get married, the real brother of deceased husband will receive the full dowry paid for them minus one cow for each girl, which cow goes to the real father of the girl for bringing her up.

When the boys born by them grow up and get married they will leave the kraal and build their own apart, unless their real father helps them to get married by paying the dowry.

If a woman has given birth to twins, both she and her husband are not allowed to leave the hut at all for 20 days; not even for nature's call. A hole is dug in the floor of the hut, and an old bottomless cooking pot is put over it, and this is used as a W. C. During those 20 days new beer is brewn. When the time has elapsed and the beer is ready, a bull is killed and its hide is dried for the parents of the twins to sleep on. For on that day some old woman will take away the old hide, which they used for that purpose. The relations of the woman also kill a bull and brew beer, which they bring along to the village where the twins are born. After their arrival the father and the mother with the twins sit down near the entrance of the kraal, together with an old woman who beats a drum. The visitors from the woman's home, the people of the kraal and of all the neighbourhood in turn go up to the mother of the twins, who has got some white clay *(rongo or migosi)* mixed with water in a small vessel. She dips her finger in it and

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smears a little clay in front of both ears of all the people who come to the feast, and each of them do the same to the mother in return. All of them decorate their necks and waist with *bwombwe*, a creeping plant; then they start a most immodest dance; scarcely covered with their goatskins they simulate the copula, and the vilest songs, which no decent person could ever listen to. After the dance they enter the kraal where food is ready. Then they have the beer. The relations of the woman stay over for the night, but all the others go home.

Mund Kumu is a similar dance, which is indulged in, when a woman has given birth to a child, of whose conception she did not get aware of for some considerable time. The people who come to this dance are far fewer; it does not last as long either. In stead of a bull only a goat is killed by the relations of the woman, and some beer is brewn for the feast. Other ceremonies are the same as after childbirth under usual circumstances.

Betrothal and Marriage.

Before any other arrangements are made, a boy intending to get married tells his parents that he wants to look out for a partner through life. If the father has any cattle towards the dowry he will agree, and tells his son to make his choice, and inform her relations. When he has found a likely girl he invites a couple of friends, one of whom at least knows the relations of the girl well *(jatielo)*. With his friends he pays a visit to the kraal of the girl, and enters the *simba* i. e. the hut in which the boys of the kraal live.

No sooner have they entered the *simba* or the girls of the place go to greet the visitors, after which they bring them pipes and tobacco and go to fetch or prepare some gruel for them to drink. In the meantime the *jatielo* goes to the hut of the particular girl's father to tell him that a friend of his has come for his daughter. The father will inquire from the *jatielo* what kind of lad the boy is, whether he is of good family, whether he is not the son of a witchdoctor, whether he can pay a decent dowry, ect.

If the father agrees the *jatielo* goes back to his friends in the *simba* and reports that the father is willing, whereupon the boy proposes to the girl. There and then the girl decides whether she agrees or not. If she does not want the boy, then all is finished and visitors go home at once. If she agrees, they stay for the night. They sleep in the *simba* seperately together with the other boys and girls.

Then, in former years, in the early morning the visitors would catch the girl after she had left the *simba*, and take her to her fiance's village *(mako)*. On account of a government regulation, by which the dowry is now more or less fixed, this practice is no longer adhered to.

The boy and his friends go home. He informs his parents, who next day send the *jatielo* back with somebody else to pay the first instalment of the dowry, usually 2 or 3 head of cattle. They stay over the night, and in the morning they catch *(mako)* the girl, for she pretends not to like going along. After they have had some gruel to drink, the boys who brought the cattle more or less drag her out of the kraal. The girls from her village strip her absolutely naked, and the boys from there follow those who fetch the girl to take from them some of their orna-

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ments such as beads brass bangles, bracelets, ect. Then they are allowed to take 585
the girl away, who goes along crying, or is dragged or pushed along and sometimes very roughly handled. After they have gone, the girls of the village dress themselves up in their best beads and tassels take their pipes and tobacco and follow them up.

When all arrive at the boy's village the couple enter the *simba*, where they 585
spend the day together with the boys of the village and the girls who followed the fiancee. In the evening the boys leave the hut and the girls bring a cowhide, which they put down on the floor. The young couple lie together, the girls holding her down if she is afraid or shy. Immediately afterwards the girls look for the hymen. If they find some they put it on the leave of an *ochok*-plant and start singing. Their songs are not always very modest.

In the early morning they resume their singing and go home, singing all the way, carrying with them the hymen. Arriving at their kraal, the women meet them at the entrance, where the hymen is shown to them as a proof that the girl was still a virgin when leaving home. Then they throw it away, and the women of the kraal start singing and dancing with the girls, after which the latter get their morning meal of gruel and beans.

After the girls have left the kraal of the bridegroom, the bride gets a new- [431]
"chip" and a new tassel. The latter is given her together with a goat, which later her sister will fetch away. The chip which she gets is a special one made for the [292]
occasion by her sisters-in-law. It is a fringe about a four inches long by three inches wide, made from the twisted fibrous marrow of a kaffir-corn stalk; some of th strings are blackened with charcoal, others whitened with *migosi*, others again coloured with red oker. With string his fringe is tied round the bride's waist to cover her nakedness.

From her brother-in-law the bride gets a hoe, formerly also a brass ornament [431]
round her forearm *(nalo)* and a leather string with iron beads about $^1/_2$ of an inch [301]
in diameter *(atalu)* to be worn round the waist. At present the bride gets with the hoe either a goat or the equivalent, 6 Shillings.

After 4 days the bride's father kills a bull and the meat is taken to the kraal of the bridegroom. Next day the people there have a good feed, and the morning following the women and girls of the neighbourhood gather to take the bride home to her father again. When getting near the kraal they sing and shout which rouses the women and girls of her own village, who come out dancing and singing to meet the bride. Arriving at the entrance the women of the kraal stand in the opening of the fence, and go on singing for a while, preventing the bride to enter. The singing finished, the brother of the bride brings a life chicken, of which he cuts the lower part of the beak. This is tied with a string round the bride's neck, and the chicken is given to the children of the village who now kill and eat it. Then the bride is allowed to enter. Food is brought, and the visitors stay for the night. In the early morning they go home again, leaving the bride with her father.

About 5 days later the bridegroom sends a couple of friends with 2 or 3 more head of cattle towards the dowry. One of them must be a heifer, and the man who takes the cattle over goes with a little stick of a powo-tree. With this stick

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585 he enters the hut of the bride's mother, and sticks it in the grass roof. The heifer is called the *roch powo*. The men who brought the cattle return with the chip of the bride, which is given to one of her sisters-in-law, who keeps it. Whenever the bride comes to the village of her husband she wares it again.

585 583 After some time more cattle are sent. Formerly a dowry sometimes used to run up to 18 or 20 head of cattle. When a certain part of the dowry has been paid off, the bride goes to her husband's village for a few days. About 2 months after she has returned again to her father, her husband gathers his friends. With a harp-player amongst them they go to the bride's village, where her father has killed a big bull for the proper marriage feast *(kisera)*. On this occasion the husband asks the girl's father leave to take his wife to his village for good. If he agrees then the girl goes along with him after the feast and takes a hindleg of the bull to the parents and relations of her husband.

585 A few days later word is sent to the bride's village that her husband wants to *riso* i. e. to seal the contract. Wen the messengers return, a bull is killed and all the meat, save one frontleg and the ribs of one side, is taken to the kraal of the bride. Now the girls of her village go to the bridegroom's place, where they grind food and cook it. When the food is dished up, the girls send word to the boys of the husband's kraal. These come and bring their presents, which consist of brass [301] bracelets, iron beads, finger rings, necklaces, beads, brass rings to put round the neck *(odeyo)*, ect., and all these presents are put together. Then the girls ask the bridegroom for 3 goats. He is supposed to give 3 goats or the equivalent a young bull. When these have been presented then only the girls start their meal consisting of the food they cooked, and the meat and ribs of the bull, which were not taken to the bride's village. They stay over the night. In the morning they devide amongst themselves the presents from the boys and go home.

That day the chip is definitely taken away from the bride, because now she has really become a woman of that village. At night the 2 bones of the cows leg with some meat are cooked for the bride, who calls the other women of the village. These take her for the first time to her mother-in-law's hut. When the bride came to the village on former occasions, she was never allowed to enter that hut, because her son had not fully married her yet.

585 273 The bride now goes home again where her father gets the ingredients for beer ready, which is to be brewn for his daughter's father-in-law, who comes over with his friends, his wife and the other women of the village, some chosen friends, and a singer, who has to sing at the beer party. The bridegroom does not go along, he has had his feast before; this one is in honour of his father. He takes a bull along and wants to know whether now a sufficient dowry has been paid. Lengthy discussions are held, and the news of their little world as well as old history are talked over round the beerpots, to which they return after their evening meal. Next morning a bull is killed for the visitors, who stay over that day and drink beer from [533] early morning till late at night, whilst the minstrel sings his songs and wets his throat alternatively. From the bride he gets the present of a goat for his services. — Once I saw one of these beerparties in full swing, and was told that during the 3 days it lasted so much beer was consumed, that the grain used in its preparation

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would have supplied sufficient food for the whole village (about 50 people) for 3 months. — When all the beer is finished the bridegroom's father asks his host whether his son may now build his wife a hut, and whether she may stay with him definitely. The worthy parent will answer: "No, not yet, because the heifer for the father of the girl *(roch wuoro)* is to be brought still."

Now the relations of the bridegroom go home taking a hindleg of the cow along, which is to be carried by the bride. But she will say: "It does not behove that I should walk along the road with my father-in-law; I will come later." Somebody of the party carries the leg, and she follows next day. Henceforward she is allowed to enter her mother-in-law's hut, where she does the cooking for her husband, and stays no longer in the simba. Unless she is with child already she goes home again after a few weeks, because her father has not quite released her yet, and she still plays about with her girl-friends.

When her husband has found the heifer still wanted by her father, he takes it to him. Again he asks leave to build a hut for his wife. If the father agrees he returns with his wife and starts building at once. The woman stays with her husband definitely, for the full dowry has been paid.

Some time later the woman's father brews beer and sends word to his son-in-law, who gathers his brothers and friends to go to this beer party *(kisech kongo)*. All of them except the husband himself go to the hut of his mother-in-law, where the beer stands ready. Not until he has given her either a goat or a sheep is he allowed to enter. This animal has to be handed over not by the husband himself, but by a relation of his. With this beer party the full marriage ceremony ends.

The woman, though she has her own hut now, goes on cooking in her mother-in-law's hut. Five months after she has conceived she has regularly to take *yuath agulu* which medicine has to be warmed up every time before taking it. This she does in her own hut. However, the evening before she boils this medicine for the first time, the children of the kraal pick some vegetables and cook them in the woman's hut. This is the first food cooked there. Both husband and wife, and also the children who cooked them partake of these vegetables.

From now onwards she cooks all the food in her own hut, but her husband is not allowed to eat any of it yet. He goes for his meals to his mother's hut. After about 4 days the woman goes home once more to fetch a goat for her husband. With the goat and also some other meat and fish she returns to her husband. When this food is cooked she calls her husband and the men of the village for a little feast. On this occasion she gives the goat to her husband, thereby sealing the contract with him *(criso chwore)*.

Burial of a married Man.

In the olden days the death of a warrior was considered to be brought about by some enemy through witchcraft. This death had to be revenged. So the very next morning, before the man got buried, people got ready for a fight, and went out to the boundary of a hostile tribe to wage a war against them. No sooner was the warcry raised or the hostile tribe got ready too, and came to the boundary. Both parties took some of their cattle with them. After the fight the victorious party took the opponents cattle as spoils.

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764 721 178 Since the Administration of the country by the "White Man" these wars are a thing of the past. However, the old custom remains, in so far, that even at present on the morning after a person's death his relations and tribesmen have a sham-fight, at the same places where formerly they used to fight their real wars.

764 The wailing at a person's death spreads the news in no time, and at day-break all the men of that tribe attire themselves in their wardress, after having smeared themselves with oker and mud, and go out with their shields and spears. They gather at the kraal of the deceased, and having brought some cattle they go out to the uninhabited boundary of their district for their sham-fight.

There the performance starts with the killing of a chicken as a sacrifice to the gods, that they might favour and bless their war, just as they did in the days of old. Whilst the old folks roast and eat the chicken the warriors dash forward to their imaginary enemy here and there stabbing a tuft of grass or throwing their spears in a bush, and rushing back again as if the enemy was on their heels.

When after an hour or two of fighting the enemy is defeated, they go back to the village of deceased. From the moment he gave up his ghost (and sometimes before that) the people of the village have been bewailing him, running in and out of the hut; shouting and yelling all the time. They have also taken his cattle one by one to the doorway of his hut, that they too might bewail their deceased master.

And now, after the warriors have returned, the corpse is put in front of the hut. The warriors and the people of the surrounding country (sometimes thousands of them, if deceased was a chief, a witchdoctor, a rainmaker, or other important personage) go up to the corpse, and bewail it, running in and out and round the kraal, all of them yelling like madmen.

The warriors also take their "spoils" up to the corpse, to show the spirit of deceased that his death has been revenged.

Whilst this is going on three men are digging the grave. If he was a rich man, i. e. if he had many wives, the grave is dug next to the hut in which he died, after a small temporary hut has been built over the spot. If he had only few wives then the grave is dug inside the hut in which he died. The corpse is lowered in the grave by 4 men, and the children of the village with their hands and feet scrape the earth into the grave, always with their backs towards the same. After the actual burial the wailing goes on for another half hour or so, whereupon all the outsiders return home.

In the evening the people of he kraal go to the grave with a chicken, which, held by the legs, is smitten with its head on the grave till it is dead. Then it is roasted and eaten. They also put a broken cooking pot on the grave, which they trample to pieces there. Then they kill a sheep, which is eaten by the men that night. Its skin is cut into narrow strips. These are tied round the right wrist of all the male inhabitants of the kraal, and round the left wrist of all the females. This finishes the ceremonies for the day.

765 Next morning arrangements are made in the open space outside the village for a dance. The older women beat a couple of drums, the young women and girls from he neighbourhood dance, the men and boys in their war-costume run about

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with their buffalo-hide-shields and spears singing all the time. Meanwhile the heads of all the people of deceased's kraal except his wives are being shaven clean, whilst for this purpose they, in turn, are seated on a log of a thorn-tree, which is put across the main path leading to the village.

On the third day a billy-goat is killed and the meat is cooked and eaten by the women and girls of the kraal only, and an old woman gets the skin of the goat as a new skirt.

On the 4th day the relations go to the grave again and sweep it *(yweyo lief)* with a special kind of grass, putting some earth of the grave in an old basket. This is put in the middle of the path leading to the village, together with the log of wood (orindo) which deceased used to rest his head on when sleeping. Nobody will afterwards touch these 2 articles; they are left there in the middle of the path. People will in future go past them, making a curve round them. — This explains why one very seldom finds a straight path leading to a kraal. — The hoe, which was used in digging the grave, is given to an old woman of an other part of the district, but the hoe handle is thrown away. Then all the relations living away from the kraal, and all the neighbours go home.

When they have gone, the stick on top of the deceased hut, and those on the huts of all his women are broken by the grandchild of deceased or by some other small boy. This is a sign to anybody that the occupants of those huts are mourning.

After about two months the wives of deceased go to the village of their parents where they stay for two days, and a young bull is killed for them in honour of deceased. Before the wives have been home, they are not allowed to sleep anywhere but in the deceased husband's village, except under extraordinary circumstances, e. g. if a woman is not able to cross a river on the way home; in such cases she may sleep in another village, but only in the hut of an old woman. If she would break this rule, then the woman in whose hut she slept would not bring forth any children.

Six months later beer is brewn for all the relations and neighbours, who come for the occasion. That day the grave is smeared with mud *(mwono lief)* and the women get their heads shaven for the first time since the death of their husband. Now also all the wives of deceased are disposed of; they go to either the brothers or the cousins of their former husband. The time of mourning is finished and the sticks are replaced on top of the huts by the same boy who broke them off. That night however the women sleep on the bare ground. That day the women wear new white tassels on their backs. These tassels are made as usual from the twisted marrow of papyrus stalks or of sisal-fibre. For since the death of their husband they have left off their ordinary tassel, which they replaced by a course untwisted one, made of the fibrous bark of the wild fig-tree.

Then new huts are built for the women, if their new husbands live in another village, and when these are ready their former huts are broken down. If their new husbands live in the same kraal they keep their own huts, except if deceased was buried inside his hut. In this case a new hut is built and the old one is allowed to collapse over the grave. If deceased was buried in a little hut built over grave, then this hut is left till it tumbles down by itself. When later on somebody gets

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768 sick in the village and he witchdoctor says that the sickness is due to neglect of
769 deceased's grave, and that they have to sacrifice a goat or a bull to propitiate him,
753 then they put some sticks round the grave again by way of a hut, in the doorway of which they roast a chicken, and some blood of the sacrifice is put in a potsherd and placed on the grave.

On the anniversary of the death or thereabouts beer is brewn again. First
769 however deceased's son visits the witchdoctor, who tels him to sacrifice a special
782 cock, e. g. a big black one, or one with an extra toe, or one with very short legs,
273 ect. Until such a cock is found, as indicated by the witchdoctor, the beer will be of no use. Then the chicken is roasted and eaten, except for one leg which is put on the grave and covered with a basket. Now the *wimbi* for the beer is coarsely ground and put in pots for fermenting. After twelve days the fermented *wimbi* is roasted and the next morning dried. Unground *wimbi* is soaked in water, which is strained off again, and the grain remains for 3 days in covered pots in order to sprout, after which it is dried. When these ingredients are ready, then the next day another visit is paid to the witchdoctor, who again orders a special chicken to be sacrificed, this time e. g. a white one, which is killed and eaten in the morning. Now the
[824 wives and children of deceased only pick some seed-pods of a certain wild plant
301] (*ochot*) which they string like beads on the stalk of creeping grass *(modhono)*. These strings they put round their necks, and also round the necks of the water-vesseis with which they go to the well to feich water for the further preparations of the beer. The water is put out in the sun, and when it has become luke-warm, it is poured on the fermenied *wimbi* in big earthen pots. Next day the sprouted *wimbi* is ground and put in the beerpots too. The following morning early the relations put some of the beer, now ready, in a small vessel, which they put on the grave of deceased, with a reed in it, after which the people of the village take some of the beer and drink it. Presently they bring a cock which they suspend by its legs alive in the gateway of the kraal together with some secret medecine, and it remains hanging there till sunset. From 8 o'clock in the morning onwards all the relations, friends and neighbours come to partake of the beer, which is put in an enormus earthen pot *(mbiru)* in an open space outside, each visitor bringing his own reed for sucking the beer. Nobody can enter the kraal that day except by the gateway where the chicken is hanging, all the other entrances being closed up. And the chicken is hung in such a way that anyone entering has to touch it. Suppose a
[754] person with an "evil eye" would enter for the purpose of bewitching somebody there, the medicine would start working on him; and he would leave the place with sore eyes, which would cause him much suffering. If this person, however, returns to the village, and owns up that he came there to bewitch somebody, he will be asked to spit on the ground, so that the person bewiched may not die; and doing so his eyes will heal again.

Beer is supplied to anybody entering the kraal for three days at a stretch. No food is cooked these days; if some food is brought from a neighbouring village they may take it but otherwise they live on beer only. All the children of round about, born about the time of persons death and called after him are carried by their mothers to this beer party. Each mother brings a cooked chicken and some

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food for the child, but they themselves only drink beer. On the last day all the iron, brass and other ornaments which deceased used to wear are sprinkled with some beer, made of kaffir-corn, which has previously been sacrificed. Then the ornaments are devided amongst the relations, who will wear them in future. After this all go home.

Next morning a sheep is killed and eaten. The wet skin is called the garment of deceased, and as such is worn for that day by his eldest son. At night it is slung over the gateway, where in time it rots away or some hyena finds it and makes off with it.

Every person, whether man, woman or child, is buried absolutely naked, and without any ornaments; even the little brass rings with a big blue bead each, which the old men wear all along the edge of both ears are taken out immediately after his death. To this rule there is one exception only. A *jabilo*, who is not an ordinary medicine-man, but one who has secret medicine, which he does not use for evil purposes except in warfare, is considered the greatest among men. For this reason he is specially honoured at his death. A big bull is killed and offered as a sacrifice, and the *jabilo* is buried in the fresh skin of the animal.

Burial of a Woman.

From the moment of a woman's death wailing goes on till next morning about 10 o'clock, when either her husband or her son dig the grave. All her ornaments are taken off, like at the occasion of a man's death.

Every woman is buried inside her own hut; because a woman is called the owner of the hut *(wonjot)*; hence at her death the hut has served its purpose.

When the grave is ready deceased's husband, assisted by two other people put her down in it, lying on her left side (men on their right). Her children fill up the grave scraping the earth with hands and feet, heir backs towards the corpse. The wailing goes on for another half hour whilst the crowds gather.

Then all the women and girls prepare themselves for a kind of wardance to take place near the village. They take off their tassels which they throw on the roof deceased's hut. They smear themselves with mud, and dress themselves up in the war-dress of the men who came to the funeral (shields and spears left at home).

Whilst the girls and women are dancing to the beating of drums, the men and boys squat down in the village and smoke hemp. After about an hour they come back from the dance, return their apparel to the men and go home. But the men remain till the afternoon, and those living near by call again at night for a chat.

After 3 days the women of the neighbourhood gather again in order to cook and eat the dried meat, fish and other food which the deceased left in the hut at her death. After the meal they go to sweep the grave (on the 3rd day, not the 4th as after the burial of a man) gathering some earth of it in an old basket, which is put on the path outside the kraal together with her socalled pillow *(orindo)*. They also give away deceased's hoe to an old woman, and throw away its handle.

On the same day the husband of deceased and one old woman go round to the huts of the near relations, sprinkling in each hut some medicine, throwing in each hut the seedball of an oclockplant, and gathering from its inhabitants a small

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765 basketful of kaffir-corn. This corn is used to make beer from for the feast of shaving and smearing of the grave with mud, which takes place after 3 months (not 6, as in the case of husband's death). On that day also the parents of the deceased
587 woman bring another daughter, however small she may be at the time, which girl is to replace the deceased daughter, and will become the wife of the widower. They even may wait for a daughter still to be born, if deceased has no sister. But if the mother is old, and has no daughter to put in deceased's place, then the father may put a daughter by another wife in her place. This girl, though she may be a child in arms yet, is shown to the widower, who is not allowed to refuse her as his future wife, but has to wait till she is grown up. When the girl is about 10 years old a small temporary hut is built for her, in which she sleeps with her future husband for one night. Then she returns home till she is marriageable, after a heavy iron ring has been put round her left ankle, which remains as a sign, that she has taken the place of a deceased sister.

The widower, however, is at liberty to marry another girl in the meantime, but the deceased wife's sister will later be considered as his first wife (*dhako maduong*).

764 On the morning after the death of either husband or wife 2 bulls are killed. The first is sacrificed and eaten, there and then, by anybody coming for the funeral, the other one is simply killed for the relations.

769 When about 12 months have elapsed after the death of a woman, the same customs of distributing the ornaments of deceased, and the brewing of beer for all the relations and neighbours are observed, as take place on the anniversary of the death of a married man.

Burial of a Child.

765 Small children, whether boys or girls are bewailed by the women only. The reason for this is that the people have a superstition which says that if a father bewails his child his wives will not bring forth any more.

Grown up boys and girls are bewailled by the men also, but only for a short time and not by big crowds. The mother may bewail her child for a period of about 2 months every morning for a short time. She sits down beside the grave, where
[276] she lights a little fire to protect herself agains the cold, Her wailing is interrupted now and again for the purpose of smoking a pipe.

765 After the child's death the mother may not get her head shaven until after
834 her next menstruation. Only after this her husband is allowed to sleep in her hut and observe the conjugal rights. Until he has done this the husband is not allowed to observe those rights with any of his other wives. If he would break this rule he would make the mother of the dead child barren for the rest of her life.

764 Adult boys are buried on the left hand side of the hut a few yards away, smaller boys on the same side but under the roof outside; girls in the same way, but on the right hand side.

For adult children, whether boys or girls, the usual dancing, etc. take place, the same as for married people.

If a girl dies for whom the dowry has been fully paid, but for some reason

½ [The third day after burial. – Analyst]

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764 has not yet gone to live with her husband, the corpse is carried to the village of her husband and buried there, outside the hut which was already built for her.

765 On the 3rd day after the burial of a child the grave is swept, and some of the earth is poured along the wall of the hut without any further ceremonies.

763 If a woman dies who is with child a slight incision is made below her navel, but no attemp is made to save the child.

764 P. S. On the day of the burial of either husband or wife the cattle are not milked. They are driven outside the kraal, but are not herded. When they return at night they are milked, but next morning the milk is not churned. The fresh milk is drunk by the boys of the kraal and the neighbourhood. 234

765 After the death of a man or a grown up boy no cultivation or weeding of gardens is done by the inhabitant of the kraal for the next 4 days; after the death of a woman or adult girl for the next 3 days. The same regulations holds good on the day of the funeral of a child and on the 3rd day after its burial when the grave is swept. 241

If either the father or mother of twins dies the whole neighbourhood will abstain from cultivation or weeding for either 4 or 3 days. If one would break these rules the gardens that season would yield no crops or a very poor one.